1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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Lou		Western Jikany	
Gwong	*Gwong indit* *Carboc* *Nyamnyam*	*Tanghwer*	*Tanghwer* *Karam*
Luac	*Luac indit* *Karam* *Camthoari*	*Rol*	*Rol* *Pilual*
Lithgac	*Lieth indit (inbor)* *Lieth intot (incar)* *Caiyat (Pilual)*	*Juong*	*Juong* *Majaani*
Rialmac	*Rialmac (Rialdang) indit* *Kwekoryoam*	*Bildeang*	*Bildeang*

III

In seeking to understand how membership of an age-set determines a man's behaviour we have first to realize that there is no purposive education or moral training in the procedure of initiation. Also, many of the characteristic features of the age-set system in Kenya, where it is most highly developed, are absent in the Nuer variation. There are not three distinct age-grades of boys, warriors, and elders through which the sets pass, for a boy who is initiated into manhood remains in this grade for the rest of his life. Warriors are not prohibited from marrying and they neither enjoy privileges nor suffer restrictions different from those of other male adults. The sets have no administrative, juridical, or other specific political functions and the country is not handed over to their care. The sets have no definite military functions. Indeed, we are of the opinion that the Nuer age-set system ought not to be described as a military organization, though some writers give it this character. Youths who have recently been initiated are anxious for their first raid, and consider that they ought to earn for their set a reputation for valour, and it is likely that raids were generally conducted in the main by men of the most junior set. However, there is no grade of warriorhood through which the age-sets pass nor a grade of elderhood into which they enter. Were boys and old men to take part in warfare against other Nuer they would probably be killed, and it is understandable that raids are the occupation of the strongest and fleetest,

561 867 561 701

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
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wives will be fertile. Abortion is said to be very rare and practised only by unmarried girls. Though the men of the kraal may hope that monorchids and babies born with defects and deformities will not survive, they do not kill them or let them die. The proper care and nurture of children is the concern of the whole family and household, and from the moment of birth care is taken to isolate the child from any contact which might be injurious to it. Even the father keeps away from the mother's hut for the first few days lest he inadvertently cause it some misfortune. The prohibition on coitus between parents till the child is weaned is seldom infringed, although it imposes long abstinence, for the child is suckled till he can digest solid food and can toddle about homestead and camp by himself. Artificial aids to weaning are rarely necessary, infants passing slowly from the breast to cow- and goat-milk, though sometimes they are sent to their maternal grandparents for some weeks to make the break. Children have first claim in the allocation of milk from the herd, and if there is a shortage it is the adults, and not they, who go without.

The care of small children falls naturally to the mother, and it is she who feeds and bathes them and attends to their other wants. But the father also takes an interest in his infant children, and one often sees a man nursing his child while the mother is engaged in the tasks of the home. Nuer fathers are proud of their children and give much time to them, petting and spoiling them, giving them titbits, playing with them, and teaching them to talk; and the children are often in the byres with the men. The affection of children for their fathers is very striking in Nuerland. I have never seen a man beat his child or lose his temper with him, however aggravating he might be. When a father speaks crossly to his child, as he does if, let us say, the child goes to the edge of a river or among the cattle, where he may be injured, it is evident that the child is not afraid of his loud words and obeys from affection rather than fear. In his first years a child is corrected by his mother and elder brothers and sisters, who may give him a few strokes with a grass switch if he is naughty.

Daughters grow up under the direction of their mothers. Mother and elder sisters give a girl training in household tasks and what moral advice and worldly wisdom they care to impart. The father takes little interest in the affairs of his daughters. His chief concern with them is to ensure that they are well married.

9:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1936 FJ22 Nuer FJ22

561 in the lists above. Thus one speaks of the *Piluali*, the *Karamni*, the *Ruobni*, the *Lithgacni*, the *Thutni*, the *Rialmacni*, the *Makeri*, the *Nyamnyamni*, etc.

XI.

881 In seeking to understand the social action of the Nuer age-set system
•867 I think that we should first of all abandon the idea that there is any purposive education in initiation. Neither in connection with the cutting nor during any subsequent stage does the initiation of the boys include educational or moral training. It is true that a father may admonish his son at this time to be brave in war, to avoid the wives of other men, to be generous, and never to display greed, but such advice is of the general kind which may be given unsystematically at any time during boyhood. I could find no evidence that there is any kind of teaching of the boys during initiation, either of technique or of traditions. Nor was I told upon repeated enquiry that there was any moral instruction.

561 I cannot agree with Stigand's description of the Nuer age-sets in
114 this respect and I think that he was largely reading into them the purpose and methods of the Masai system with which he was familiar. He wrote of initiated youths: "When finished they are trained by the old class; the training includes mock battles, fighting with sticks and pelting one another with balls of dried clay—to learn quickness in avoiding spear thrusts. After two years the training is complete, the old class then retire and gradually get married whilst the new class having finished their training go back to live in their villages." He says: "The newly-made warrior may not marry until relieved by the next class."[1] I found nothing which could confirm this account of two-years' training and the prohibition of marriage on the older class during the training of the set which was to replace it, and there is nothing in Jackson's account and little in the recent paper by Father Crazzolara which bears it out.

561 I think, moreover, that the Nuer age-sets are only incidentally a
701 military system at all, though Stigand and, less dogmatically, Jackson give them this character. It is perfectly true that in warfare the junior age-sets play the chief part, but this is simply due to the fact that they are old enough, and yet not too old, to fight. Boys do not take part in

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 117.

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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611 not only indications of their status but also a means of evoking behaviour. Hence it is understandable that a man takes different patronymics in different localities.

611 A child who is old enough to walk and to speak always knows his pater's
867 name regardless of the manner of his birth and the place of his upbringing. His mother always teaches him his pater's name and if there are any of his pater's kin in the village they will impress on the child his true patronymic. Therefore one may ask a very small child for the name of his father and though he will give you the name of his genitor if he is living in his home you can ascertain the name of his pater by asking him the name of *gur dodien*, " your other father ".

611 Owing to the Nuer custom of referring to women of all ages by their proper names one would not usually speak of a woman as " the wife of so-and-so " unless one wished to indicate especially her matrimonial status. One would then speak of a wife in simple legal marriage, in leviritic marriage, and in widow-concubinage, as the wife of the true husband, the man in whose name bride-cattle had been paid. But a woman who is partner in ghost-marriage would be referred to as the wife of the vicarious husband who stands in the place of the true and ghostly husband. Consequently only members of a man's kin and village may know that the woman with whom he is living is not legally his own wife but the wife of a dead kinsman. Other people may be ignorant of the real state of affairs or, if cognizant of them, may not know the name of the ghost-husband. As a courtesy-title one may also speak of an unmarried concubine who has lived with a man for several years as his " wife ".[1]

Before leaving the subject of nomenclature a few words must be said about terms of address between persons who stand to one another in two different sets of relationship, the legal and the biological. It is my experience and it is the statement of my informants that when a man and woman and their children live together, whether the union be ghost-marriage, leviritic marriage, widow-concubinage, or concubinage with an unmarried woman, they use the same terms of address to one another as members of a simple legal family use. There is no reason why in widow-concubinage and concubinage with an unmarried woman the terms for " father ", " mother ", " son " and " daughter ", should not be used in the same manner as they are used in the simple legal family. It might be supposed, however, that in ghost-marriage and leviritic marriage the members of the domestic groups that spring from them use terms that indicate their legal, rather than natural, status to one another. As I have said, this is not the case. The terms describing the legal relationship between a man and the son he has begotten (other than in simple legal marriage) are only used in legal and ritual situations and when one of the two parties desires to influence the behaviour of the other by recalling the legal relationship between them and the obligations it entails. A man

[1] The term, ' *cak* ', has a wider range of meaning than ' wife '. It may be used to describe any woman who has once been married or who has borne children.